

for the last 3 or 4 years; namely, that they are determined to maintain tens of thousands of American troops on permanent military bases in Iraq for many decades to come. To support this position, they draw an absurd comparison between the situation in Iraq and the situation in South Korea. South Korea, where U.S. troops have been stationed for more than 50 years. And then White House spokesman Tony Snow said U.S. troops may have to stay in Iraq indefinitely to perform what he called an over-the-horizon support role. Over-the-horizon support role. George Orwell couldn't have said it any better. Call it what it really is, Tony: Occupation.

Ever since the administration took us into Iraq, I have tried to get at the heart of what is wrong with this foreign policy, and I believe the answer is this: The administration's foreign policy has failed. It has failed because it sells America short. The administration believes that the only weapon we have to fight terrorism is military power, but by relying on military power alone and ignoring our many other strengths, they have made America much weaker, not stronger.

There is another answer: A much different look at diplomacy and foreign policy. First, we must reestablish our moral leadership and regain our standing in the global community by using diplomacy as our first and best resort, and war only as our last resort. President Roosevelt said that the Presidency is preeminently a place of moral leadership, and that is something this administration must learn.

Second, we must rebuild our international alliances. We may be a Superpower, but we don't have super powers like Spiderman. So, we need the help of other nations. International cooperation is by far the best way to dismantle terrorist networks, manage globalization, stop the spread of disease and global warming, and fight the poverty that is the breeding ground of terrorism.

Third, Mr. Speaker, we must stop using fear as an excuse to justify immoral wars, or as a bludgeon to crush dissent and trash our Constitution. Again, quoting President Roosevelt, the only thing we have to fear, he said, is fear itself. Well, this administration believes that without fear, they can't move their agenda.

Fourth, we must end our addiction to foreign oil that pumps billions of dollars into autocratic regimes and props them up. Let's get serious about sustainable energy. And let's export green technology instead of war.

Next, we must renew our commitment to nuclear nonproliferation. It is sheer hypocrisy to demand that Iran and North Korea halt their nuclear programs while we talk about developing new nuclear weapons of our very own.

And finally, we must take the money we are investing in war and reinvest it in what makes us truly strong: edu-

cation, health care, jobs, child care, the environment, and nonviolent problem solving.

I have offered a national security plan myself which rests on these broad principles. It's called SMART, which stands for Sensible Multilateral American Response to Terrorism. SMART, H. Res. 227, is deadly serious about stopping acts of terrorism. It would beef-up our intelligence capabilities. It would enhance our efforts to cut off financing for terrorist organizations.

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Oregon (Mr. DEFAZIO) is recognized for 5 minutes.

(Mr. DEFAZIO addressed the House. His remarks will appear hereafter in the Extensions of Remarks.)

REDEPLOY FOR A SECURE AMERICA

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under a previous order of the House, the gentleman from Pennsylvania (Mr. SESTAK) is recognized for 5 minutes.

Mr. SESTAK. Mr. Speaker, a little over 5 years ago, I was in the war in Afghanistan, first on the ground for a very short period of time, and then I returned in charge of an aircraft carrier battle group. I saw a just war.

Eighteen months later, I went back to Afghanistan, on the ground again, and saw what we had not accomplished because we had diverted our attention and our resources, our Special Forces, our Psychological Operation Forces, our Civil Affairs Forces, those and our attention were diverted to the tragic misadventure in Iraq.

To me, Afghanistan is a poster child for what we have failed to do, and that is to remain engaged throughout this world, to be ready here at home in order to provide for a strong defense in support of our diplomacy of engagement.

I am not antiwar. I am pro-security. And that is my concern, that Iraq is every day seriously degrading the strategic security of America. It is why I believe that there is a different strategy to redeploy from Iraq with a date that is certain, one that is out there in order to change the behavior of those nations in that region, give them a different incentive to work towards stability so that as we redeploy over a fixed timetable, we will leave behind a state that is fairly stable and that is not failing.

I believe, having been in Iraq with Senator HAGEL and having traveled throughout that country, that my belief is only reinforced that we can no longer provide the political and the military cover for the Iraqi leadership that has failed to step up to the plate, that has failed, being in control of 32 ministries in Baghdad, to stop pursuing personal ambition, establishing personal fiefdom as our soldiers provide them not only the military, but the po-

litical cover, not to take the challenging decisions that they must take.

But I also believe, beyond that it is wrong to double-down on a bad bet by putting more troops into what is a civil war and that our military cannot resolve, the best military in the world, I believe a date certain also changes the incentives, the structure of incentives to change the behavior of Iran and Syria.

Everywhere Senator HAGEL and I went in Iraq we heard that Iran has undue influence. Yes, they do. We're bleeding, bleeding profusely. But when I asked our senior political leader there, if we were to redeploy, does Iran want a failed state? The answer was, no, they don't. With a date certain and the confidence the United States should have, having dealt with the Soviet Union, having dealt with the People's Republic of China, bringing it into the world's community, we should have the confidence to deal with Iran and Syria. Bring them together to work, with a date certain as their incentive toward working on the extreme elements in Iraq as we work in the center to bring about an unfailed state that can only be brought about by a date that is certain to redeploy.

It took us 6 months to redeploy from Somalia, a much smaller contingency of forces. We have over 100,000 civilians in Iraq, in addition to our troops. I believe that the Democratic leadership, working with the Republicans, should work towards what the President said. We will not have an open-ended commitment. With a date certain, working together, we can, on an authorization bill, a bill that establishes a date beyond which no funding would be permitted for troops within Iraq, while we use appropriations bills to continue to fund our forces so that we do not ever again, as we did in the last month, place those forces, those whom we serve with, wearing the cloth of our Nation that we sent to war, that we never again play a game of chicken between us and the President.

Being in the military is a dangerous business. It has, as someone said, the dignity of danger. It does not, however, have to be unsafe. Fund them fully with a date that is certain in our authorization bill by which we must redeploy, with enough timeline that the nations there can be brought together under U.S. leadership to bring about, by the only possible means that it can be done, diplomacy, strong diplomacy, as we remain in the region on our bases in Amman, Qatar, Bahrain, carrier battle groups, disengage, reengage in Afghanistan as well as here at home and elsewhere around this world in order to bring about a stronger security for America.

THE BUSH-KENNEDY AMNESTY BILL

The SPEAKER pro tempore. Under the Speaker's announced policy of January 18, 2007, the gentleman from California (Mr. ROHRBACHER) is recognized